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Sarakatsani no longer had any rights to grazing which the village council did not choose to recognize. They were warned not to return in the autumn.

The stani commissioned two patrons, who are influential lawyers in Jannina, to present their case to the Governor-General of the Epirus. Their plea was simply that their clients had nowhere to go; that they were simple men but easily tempted to violence in a crisis. In October the Nomarch (or Prefect) of Thesprotia was ordered to arrange for the compulsory admission of the shepherds to the same winter grazing. But the Nomarch (it was alleged) had received gifts from the villagers and did not wish to comply. He replied that the size of the villagers' own flocks made the administration of the order very difficult. Delay in correspondence and the endless discussion of practical difficulties are the time-honoured methods by which a junior officer in the hierarchy may evade the instruction of a senior official without becoming guilty of direct disobedience. But by late October the sheep were already on the road. The tselingas now appealed to his cheese merchant who suggested a present of fifty pounds to be passed by himself to his friend the Nomarch's Chief of Staff. It is impossible to say how this money was used, or if indeed it ever left the pocket of the merchant. But early in November, when the sheep had almost reached the village, an order was sent by the Nomarch to the President of the village that he must again receive the sheep of the Sarakatsani into the pastures.

It seems very probable that the relative success of this stani in facing these threats owes something to its size. If the stani had been smaller it is possible that the villagers would have resisted its initial lodgement in 1944 or that the later attempt to drive it out by force would have been more effective. It is certain that in 1954 the most impressive argument which their patrons were able to advance to the authorities was the simple fact that this large body of persons and animals had to be accommodated somewhere to avoid violence and political embarrassment. Furthermore, no stani of moderate size and resources could have easily afforded the expenses of these struggles in fees and bribes.

The composition of co-operating 'companies' in the winter and summer pastures is not necessarily the same. Often those

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612 476 τὸ σόϊ) the Sarakatsani say. But a man's own feelings also prompt him to give this help. Like the grace of God, which is expressed by the same word, such favours are generally without motive or conscious sense of calculation.

There are, however, other forms of assistance and co-operation between collaterals which make some demand on the material wealth of a kinsman and his family. This is no longer merely a matter of personal kinship solidarity, since it is the principle of parental obligation which guides a man in his conduct as trustee of the corporate resources of the family, human and material, under his control. He is not free to make gifts of [431] money or animals to a kinsman in difficulties. Yet it is still [675] possible for the families of these men to help one another in situations which involve corporately owned resources, providing that the assistance or co-operation is on a contractual basis of strict accountability. And this, of course, is only possible because between kinsmen there are normally sentiments of confidence and trust. In this way kinsmen sometimes make modest money loans, pasture each other's animals for a consideration, and frequently join in the co-management of their flocks.

The history of the misfortunes of Vasili Arvanitis illustrates this distinction. In the spring of 1955 his winter pastures were flooded by the irrigation of adjoining fields and, as often happens in these conditions, his animals contracted liver-fluke. From a flock of 105 sheep only 63 survived, an entirely inadequate number to support a growing family of five children. Vasili has a first cousin, Spiros Tangas, a more fortunate Sarakatsanos with 450 animals and a small property in the winter pastures near [409] Preveza. When Spiros learned of the difficulties of his cousin he at once left home and went by bus to Igoumenitsa, a day's journey away. There he visited an official of the Ministry of [662] Agriculture, a friend who had baptized his youngest daughter, [426] and asked him if he would try to arrange his cousin's applica- [851] tion for a considerable loan from the Agricultural Bank. For such applications are sometimes delayed for many months because of the formalities of proof relating to the cause of the animals' death. The following day he made another bus journey of some hours to a small town where the Mayor was an animal dealer with whom he sometimes did business. The Mayor introduced him to a friend with a few acres of rough

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The powers of this council are wide. By a simple majority vote it may institute any local by-law it pleases, providing this does not conflict with the letter or spirit of national legislation. Within statutory limits, it determines the local grazing charges to be levied on the flocks of pastoralists. And it draws up its own budget of future communal expenditure. These privileges are balanced by the discretionary power of veto over budgetary and taxation decisions which is possessed by the Nomarch, who is the provincial administrator appointed by the central Government.

The day-to-day administration of village affairs is the task of the President, who receives an allowance in compensation for the time he spends on community affairs. He is assisted in this work by a permanent salaried village secretary who keeps the registers up to date, deals with correspondence, and draws up a variety of returns which are required by different Government Ministries. Indeed, both these village officials act, not infrequently, for the central Government in matters of routine administration, instruction, and in the collection of information. Although in the decisions of the council the President's vote, of itself, carries no greater weight than that of any other member, his control over the administration of parochial affairs and his intimate relations with the Government bureaucracy, whether he is acting as a negotiator representing the interests of the villagers, or as an agent of the bureaucracy, give him in fact substantially greater power than other members of his council.

For these reasons it is generally with the President that the Sarakatsani must negotiate their affairs. In a number of important matters he has the power to affect their interests collectively or individually. In the first place, the council decides the scale of grazing charges. The village is permitted by law to charge, for summer grazing, up to two shillings a head for the first 150 animals and up to four shillings for the remainder of the flock. It may, however, charge less.[1] And it is noticeable that in those villages where the shepherd families are in a politically strategic position grazing charges tend to be lower than in other villages where this is not the case. Threepence or sixpence a head difference in a grazing charge does not represent a very

[1] The minimum charge is 4½*d.* a head.

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large sum of money, but to men who are already deeply in debt to merchants or shopkeepers, it has significance. For them, debt implies a form of dependence which is a measure of weakness.

The Sarakatsani say that if a village President and council enforce all local laws without allowing some flexibility, it becomes impossible for a shepherd family to live. If, on the other hand, the President is willing to grant them various favours (ρουσφέτια, εὐκολίες), which take into consideration the effect of the law on personal circumstances, their position may be, at least, not entirely hopeless. In practice, all Presidents with Sarakatsani on their citizenship rolls relax certain regulations for the shepherd families which support them. The political skill of a President, even an implacable opponent of the shepherds, is that he grants just a sufficient number of favours to a few Sarakatsan families to detach them from the ranks of the opposition at the time of the elections.

It is the President who decides each spring which area of the village grazing land shall be allotted to each family or co-operating 'company' of shepherds. At Skamneli, for instance, there are three main areas, Goura, Tsoumako, and Gyphtokambos. Goura has the best grass, Gyphtokambos the worst. It is the customary arrangement that each family goes to a different area each year. Yet within each general area different sections are of different quality so that friends may still be rewarded and enemies punished in a way that touches them very closely through the milk yield and the condition of their animals.

The President is often able to influence the actions of the village agricultural guard and forester. Both these officials, although they belong to a Government service, are dependent in various ways on the goodwill of the President, and if he is displeased with their work it is relatively easy to have them exchanged. By regulation, if an agricultural guard discovers a trespass on village land, or the forester finds animals grazing in forbidden areas, they must issue a summons against the shepherd in charge of the offending animals. But if the President is able to have a word with the guard or forester before he writes the details of the case in his report book, and if no third person is present, he may be able to persuade him to ignore the matter.

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There are other ways, less legal, in which the President may sometimes help Sarakatsan friends. When the sheep are mustered for counting each spring on their arrival at the village, it is relatively easy for the President to arrange that the total of animals is underestimated so that perhaps 350 instead of 400 is entered in the records for taxation purposes. Similarly, when milk, meat or wool are sold to a merchant a tax of 2 per cent is levied on the value of the sale. For a friend the President may mark down the price actually paid over for animals or the products they yield. With the connivance of the President and the schoolteacher, a family which is short of labour may sometimes take a child from school before the full term of its compulsory education is completed. It is also possible for the President to do some things to a Sarakatsanos which are strictly against law or custom, because the man may be frightened that if he takes the case to the courts, or the Nomarch, he may suffer worse injustices in the long run. After Theodoros voted against the President in the elections, his sheep were sent for the second year in succession to the worst area of village grazing land. Theodoros could have appealed to the Nomarch but decided it was more politic to settle his differences with the President by more indirect methods.

The strength of the President's position is apparent. In their efforts to come to terms with his authority and influence, the Sarakatsani attempts to draw him into some form of personal relationship that will introduce a moral element of mutual consideration. Three methods are in general practice: spiritual kinship, friendship, and gifts. The first of these has been discussed. The second possibility is that the Sarakatsanos may be able to align himself as the 'friend' (φίλος) and political supporter of the President, if he will accept him.

Here a brief digression is necessary to consider the nature of friendship in Zagori villages.[4] Between villagers ties of friendship relate persons who are, in principle, equals. All villagers, without discrimination, possess the same legal rights in the local polity. If a man is also honourable in his conduct, a good neighbour, and legitimately born of Zagori parents, he is entitled in the social life of the village to be treated with a degree

[4] Friendship in Epirote villages appears to be very similar to the parallel institution in Andalusia. Cf. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., chapter 7.

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after the Sarakatsani had departed to the plains eighty miles away. The opposition party chartered a lorry to transport, as they had calculated it, an adequate number of Sarakatsan voters to assure their victory. But, in the event, the President skilfully contrived a narrow majority by making secret agreements with two shepherd families. The five members of these families who returned from the plains, ironically enough in the lorry chartered by the opposition, were sufficient to give the President victory and a new term of office.

After the election the two families received a number of favours. In the spring the sheep of one family were short-counted by sixty and the flock of the other, which by right of the customary rotation of grazing areas ought to have gone to an area of indifferent grazing, spent a more profitable summer on the village's best grassland. In the face of the unusual solidarity of the local Sarakatsan group at the time of the election, the action of the two dissident families was described as treacherous. They were branded as 'The President's men', with an overtone of meaning which implied that they were puppets dancing at the command of the master, capable even of betraying their own people. Yet as passions cooled and the months passed, evaluations changed perceptibly. At first the members of these families were unequivocally 'traitors', but later they were considered merely 'cunning' (by no means an entirely pejorative judgement), and eventually one sometimes heard grudging admissions of their 'cleverness'. For it is recognized that each family is free to seek its own protection and the political friends who can provide it. Indeed, Sarakatsani believe that in the nature of the situation favours and concessions are to be won only by some, not all families. It is, therefore, the duty of each head of family to scheme and intrigue for his own security. Only in the case of a breach of faith between kinsmen is an accusation of treachery seriously considered.

But the friendship which a Sarakatsanos achieves with a village President, or indeed with any other influential person, involves more than the exchange of specific material favours; it establishes, also, an asymmetrical relation of sociability which enhances the prestige of both men. A Sarakatsanos who has friendship with the President boldly sits down with him at the same table when he enters the coffee-shop. The President offers

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the services he has rendered. In short, the patron wants more honour, the client more benefits.

The third widely practised method of placating or influencing the President is to present him with a gift of cheese, butter, or meat. Some families do this each spring as a matter of general policy without having in mind any particular favour. They hope that the gift may moderate his general attitude towards them in the coming months. More often, families wait until they face some specific difficulty. A gift of cheese or some other produce is delivered to the President's home and then, perhaps two days later, the gift-giver walks into the village office and makes his request. The President may be helpful or he may not. The assumptions of the giver and the recipient of the gift are not necessarily the same. The giver hopes that the gift will arouse some sense of obligation in the receiver. But the latter, if he chooses to feel that the gift was forced on him against his will, may decide that he is not obliged to feel grateful. If he intends not to grant the favour, the refusal is never direct. The many difficulties which stand in the way are elaborated at very great length. He explains that he will see what can be done, he will write to a friend in Jannina, he wants to help. In fact he will do nothing; and the original gift is not returned.

A gift is frequently offered to the President by a Sarakatsanos when he meets with legal troubles. Stratos and a number of his kinsmen were using 20 mules to transport wooden planks from a saw-mill to the road below the village where the wood was loaded on to lorries. The area for the grazing of Sarakatsan mules and horses is an hour's climb above the village and this was very inconvenient for Stratos and the other muleteers. They chanced their luck and grazed their animals at night in the little-frequented village orchards close to their loading-point. On the thirty-ninth night of their operations they were discovered by the agricultural guard who from his examination of the length of the grass and some damage to young apple trees was confident of a very successful case. Stratos was not able to claim that the President was his friend, but since he was a law-abiding careful man his relations with the President had been generally good. He begged for his assistance, explaining the extreme difficulty the group would have suffered if each night

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the mules had had to be released so far from the scene of operations. He managed also to mention that he would like to help the President in the current rebuilding of his house. It so happened that he had two loads of timber which he did not require. The next day, the President saw the agricultural guard and warned him that, in his opinion, it would only be reasonable to take into consideration the one night when he had actually seen the mules. For the rest, who could say? There had been high winds recently which often damaged trees, and he added that he had noticed one of the agricultural guard's own goats straying one evening in the direction of the orchards. Accordingly, the President received his wood, Stratos and his kinsmen escaped with a small fine, and the agricultural guard's dream of a triumphant case came to nothing.

Two points must be stressed about this method of influencing the President. Gifts must be presented with finesse. A man of honour is not to be crudely bought by social inferiors if he does not wish to lose prestige in the community. The shepherd must give the lamb, butter, or cheese to the President as if it were merely an expression of friendly respect, and in no way tied to the favour he is about to request. Secondly, whether in relation to these gifts of produce, or to other perquisites of his office, the limited dishonesty and corruptibility of a President is not dishonourable. 'He eats money' (τρώει παράδες), others say with envy. But they concede that this is the right of his office. His allowance is not large, he too must live, he also has a family to support. If a favour, even where it is entirely legal, involves trouble beyond the ordinary routine duties of his office, why should he weary himself for a man to whom he is not related in any way, unless that man by a gift, or in some other way, demonstrates the esteem in which he holds him.

We have now discussed in the order of their effectiveness three ways in which the Sarakatsani attempt to influence the President of their summer village—spiritual kinship, friendship, and gifts. In principle, spiritual kinship binds a President to help the shepherd in all situations. Ideally it is a diffuse relation, there is nothing reasonable that cannot be requested, and the right to expect this assistance is sanctioned by the ritual link between godfather and godchild. Friendship of the kind established between a village President and a Sarakatsanos, is a

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patron-client relationship of some stability over time, and the range of favours which may be demanded is almost as extensive as that between spiritual kinsmen, but the atmosphere of calculation is more pronounced. Confidence which is ritually sanctioned in spiritual kinship is more easily destroyed in the relations of patron and client. Gifts given by a shepherd to the President generally have a specific object in view and each gift is effective for only a short period of time if, indeed, it is effective at all.

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The President is not the only man with power or influence in a village; the other members of the council, the schoolmaster, the priest, other villagers of wealth or reputation may have these qualities in varying degree. When the President is particularly severe towards them, the shepherds attempt, by the same methods we have just considered, to attach themselves to other persons in the village who are known to have influence on the council, or personally over the President himself.

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When the sheep of Theodoros were despatched by the President to the poorest area of grazing for the second year because of his active opposition during the elections, Theodoros did not appeal to the Nomarch against this injustice. He went instead to Vlachopoulos. Vlachopoulos is the Vice-President of the village, and the President's closest friend. He also owns the older of the two village coffee-shops which is the one more generally patronized by the Sarakatsani both for social gatherings and for the many small purchases which they make. After the bitter feelings aroused by the autumn elections there was a spontaneous boycott of the Vlachopoulos shop by the Sarakatsani and at the time when Theodoros approached him two or three weeks after the shepherds had returned to the summer pasture, only a few Sarakatsan men were to be seen drinking in the old shop. For a week Theodoros assiduously made small purchases in the shop. Finding Vlachopoulos alone one day, he took the next step by remarking that he was not a man to dwell on old scores and that he thought his return to the shop proved this point. It seemed, however, that the President was still governed by his rage and spite. This was surely unjust, and he asked Vlachopoulos if he would not intercede with the President on his behalf. Vlachopoulos agreed to do this. It is a fair assumption that he was especially pleased to see Theodoros who leads

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a substantial co-operating 'company' and has many other kinsmen in the local group of shepherds. It was very probable that if Theodoros returned to his shop to drink, as well as to buy, the boycott would be over. This proved to be the case. Vlachopoulos persuaded the President to rearrange the grazing areas, and after a week or two of further delay to impress upon Theodoros the misguided nature of his opposition in the previous autumn, the President eventually effected the necessary changes.

A Zagori village and the local group of Sarakatsani that is linked to it through rights of citizenship, form a network of friendship relations, some of which are symmetrical and others of the patron-client variety. This network enables a man in many situations to obtain a measure of satisfaction from a person with whom he is in direct opposition. He achieves this by indirect pressure because he is a client, or friend, of the friend of his enemy. Villagers and shepherds are careful to maintain friendship links with opposed political factions and personages whenever this is possible. The implication is that there are often inherent limits on the way in which the President or other influential villagers may use their power against most individuals, since, very probably, in any particular act of victimization they are attacking the friend, or client, of one of their own friends. Only very poor villagers, or Sarakatsani with small flocks who are not attached to the co-operating 'company' of more powerful kinsmen, may be treated unjustly without encountering some responding pressure through the system of friendships; for these persons, having little to offer in return, may not have patrons. But in other cases to ignore the pressures received through the system of friendships may endanger important relationships on which a man's influence and prestige largely depend. It is not suggested, however, that a man with strategically aligned friendships is secure from all injustice. On the contrary, Theodoros suffered a considerable financial loss until his friendship with Vlachopoulos rescued him from further punishment.

In the Zagori villages, as in the Sarakatsan community, a dominant feature of the social system is the isolation of the family and its struggle against other families, whether in terms of the possibility of bare subsistence or of social prestige. The

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more important social obligations are particular to the individual's family, and these stand in direct conflict with the weaker and more general responsibilities of good neighbourliness. The notion of service to the community (σύμγεσία) exists, and is honoured. But the service takes a form which honours the individual, his family and the community in equal degree as, for instance, in the foundation of a church or school. Such services are never anonymous. The idea of service to fellow citizens of the same community exists also, but it remains an ideal value which is not realized in a society where familial obligations have an absolute priority. The President and councillors of the village are firstly heads of households and only secondly public servants. A President does not feel under the same moral obligation, even within the sphere of his formal duties, to help equally a close kinsman, a spiritual kinsman, a friend, and a man to whom he is linked only by common citizenship. It is suggested that in this absence, for the most part, of universally applicable values the system of village friendship and patronage in fact achieves a distribution of various facilities which, although it is never equitable, guards most families, even those of the hard-pressed Sarakatsani of Zagori, against complete exclusion. The system of friendship and patronage achieves this, not by upholding any general rights of citizenship, but, in a sense paradoxically, by an appeal to the individual and family interests of a person in authority. For without friends a man loses all power, influence, and social prestige.

4. LAWYERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

The Sarakatsani not only need to come to terms with the village authorities, they must also adapt themselves to the laws and regulations of the State, and attempt in their own interests to influence the administration of Government regulations so far as these affect their own affairs. This involves relations with civil servants at various levels in the hierarchy.

Some State regulations are administered through the structure of village authority which has been examined. In other instances the impact of State administration is direct. In the Zagori, as in other local districts, an agricultural officer of the Ministry of Agriculture has an office in the capital village of the district. Such matters as loans from the Agricultural Bank,

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a disputed right of protected lease for their grazing. And, sometimes, shepherds are plaintiffs in cases challenging the decisions of a village administration. The regulations of village life differ from the conventions of semi-nomads. And their adherence to the traditional code of honour necessarily conflicts with the laws of a modern State. They distrust legal procedures because their pleas are frequently unsuccessful and in many instances they regress into acts of violence which two generations ago would have been the general response to the interference of outside authority. Often a certain *naïveté* or simple ignorance about what is legal, and what is not, leads them into trouble. It is rare for a head of family not to be involved in some capacity in at least one suit each year. In 1955 George Carvounis, who was not exceptional in this respect, acted as a principal in two cases, one civil, one criminal. In the first he was sued for violent assault and defamation of character by a village woman, whom he had rough handled when she attempted to pull down a wall which she alleged had been set up by Carvounis on her land. In the second case he was charged with forgery, having found it innocently convenient to sign a document with the name of another member of his co-operating 'company'.

But the critical point of contact between the Sarakatsanos and the bureaucrat is in the situation where his winter grazing is in danger. Then, the leader of a stani must attempt to influence the highest State officials in the Epirus if he is to face, with confidence, the threat of exclusion from his winter pastures.

Gifts and money bribes are freely offered in making approaches to a minor State servant. Gifts of produce are generally made to the agricultural officer; for, even if he is not a native of the district, he becomes a member of the local village community where he occupies a respectable position in the system of village friendship; moreover, since he has some pretensions to education and culture it might be insulting to offer money. Gifts of produce are also preferred in dealing with a local police sergeant. Not all policemen are venal and it is a serious offence to offer bribes of money to a member of this force. Money bribes are often effective in preventing agricultural and forest guards from reporting the trespasses of animals, if the offence has not been observed by a third party. These guards belong,

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generally, to poor families of low prestige, and in the Zagori they are often villagers of gipsy origin. Such persons are despised by the Sarakatsani, and they themselves are generally prepared to accept money bribes without the least embarrassment.

To conduct business with minor public servants in the administrative offices at Jannina, Sarakatsani use small bribes. Often at the doorways of these buildings there is a desk staffed by two or three ushers. These men examine with a brusque lack of sympathy the forms which the shepherd has in his hand, or they demand to know his business, if only to ignore his explanation. He may wish to see a particular official to whom he has been recommended. He believes that a gratuity of five to ten shillings is essential if he is to find the right man. If he wishes to submit an application form in the general office of the same building, he hands it over the counter to the clerk with the equivalent of a ten shilling note on the underside. The shepherd hopes that this will at least ensure that the form is filed; and perhaps nearer the top than the bottom of the pile. Here, the relationship between the shepherd and the junior official is temporary and anonymous. The reputation of the man of higher status, in the eyes of the man in the lower position, is not at stake. The bribe is small, not necessarily effective, and it is not discussed. It is passed secretly. And this saves each clerk from losing the esteem of his colleagues who are themselves engaged in the same practice.

But in affairs of great importance, which must reach the desk of senior officials, the shepherd leader generally feels unable to conduct his own affairs. It is difficult, in any case, for a humble shepherd to penetrate to the offices of senior officials. If he does reach this point, his rough clothes and awkward manners, alternating between obsequiousness and effrontery, make progress difficult. Sarakatsani say, with good reason, that in offices nobody pays the least attention to a man without a collar and tie. And they have little confidence in their own forensic abilities in this kind of situation. As one Sarakatsanos said of himself and his people, 'Shepherds hesitate. If I can make five points in a conversation, he (the official) can return twenty.'

Moreover, even the director of an office does not conduct business privately. His secretary and aides have desks in the same room. By the public transaction of affairs, and the display

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S G 648 S 662 G 647 554 [558] of his power, he emphasizes his status before the eyes of his subordinates and stresses their dependence on himself. To listen patiently to the incoherent ramblings of a Sarakatsanos, the name of whose very profession, shepherd (βλάχος), is a synonym for stupidity, much less to take trouble and thought over assisting him, would be to lose prestige and betray the status of his position, the validation of which lies in pride, not humility. Generally such officials are curt, rude, and unhelpful, or to indulge their attendants, use the shepherd for a show of witty mockery. Direct bribery is out of the question in the absence of secrecy, and it is also dangerous, since the corruptibility of officials grows less certain as the hierarchy is ascended.

S G 648 571 G 693 554 Where he cannot reach or influence a high State official, the shepherd turns to his patron or, if he is a man without influence, to the patron of a more powerful kinsman. The patron may be a man of any profession with political influence in Jannina, a doctor, engineer, or merchant; but most frequently he is a lawyer. The lawyer in Greek rural society is not only the man who gives legal advice and attends a client in court, but he also acts as an intermediary between the peasant or shepherd and the State authorities. He acts in the general role of a professional 'fixer'.

S G 648 656 S 641 Some of the difficulties which arise between the State and the Sarakatsan community have their origin in the necessarily general character of government legislation. Perhaps it is decided to protect the nation's forests. A law is passed which forbids the grazing of goats in forested areas. Incorporated within the general law are a number of conditional clauses relating to the definition of various kinds of forest, the priority for their protection, and the question of hardship to pastoralists which may lead to a relaxation of the restrictions in certain circumstances and in certain categories of forest. But the law-making assembly cannot legislate for all possible local contingencies. The administration and interpretation of the law lie in the hands of the public servants.

G 647 661 However, within the public service there exists a certain inertia and reluctance to delegate power. A senior official defines the unequivocal superiority of his status in the hierarchy by forcing his junior officers to refer to himself every case which involves the initiative of judgement and decision. In this manner

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he attaches junior officials to his own will since they cannot move without his approval, and he enhances his prestige because he is seen to be indispensable. At the same time, he secures his power and nourishes his self-regard. But the convergence of so many cases awaiting decision upon a limited number of senior officials in Jannina and Athens who cannot personally know the detailed circumstances of a case except through the exiguous details set out on printed forms, creates interminable delays and inhibits the equitable administration of government laws and regulations. In the Epirus, where many villagers and shepherds live on the margin of bare subsistence, these limitations of administration might prove disastrous for many families, were they not able to put their affairs into the hands of a lawyer or some other patron. For if, in the example we have chosen, a man cannot graze his goats in the one area where he has the right to do this, he must sell the animals which provide him with his living. The lawyer is able to bring a case to the direct notice of a senior official, to frame it to the best advantage; and sometimes, if he has considerable influence, to gain concessions for his client which are not strictly within the relevant law's terms of reference.

The significance of the lawyer's position is his ability to face in two directions. Because of the prestige and status of a successful lawyer in Greek society he may be able in a provincial town to number amongst his friends, judges, army officers, doctors, the Nomarch, and other senior officials of the Government bureaucracy. With these men he sits and drinks at the tables of the town's more fashionable coffee-shops and in the lounge of the best hotel. As a member of this professional *élite* he is able to recommend the affairs of his clients to the attention of various friends who may be able to help. They give this help because of their friendship for the lawyer; they are relatively indifferent to the worth of the client and the justice of his case. In return, a lawyer is able during local and national elections to promise the political support of his clients. He also assists his friends by legal advice in their own affairs and in the affairs of their kinsmen many of whom, often, are themselves villagers.

The Sarakatsani because of their many political difficulties and disabilities are critical assessors of the personal abilities of different lawyers. The profession is over-crowded and there is a

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wide range of choice. It is essential for the Sarakatsanos that his lawyer has influential affiliations with the leading political parties. It is not fortuitous that the Jannina lawyer with the largest Sarakatsan following in 1955 happened to be the secretary of the Epirus branch of the Government party. But the secretary to the Liberal party also has many clients. Although he supports an opposition party, Government servants do not lightly refuse his requests for they are anxious to avoid questions and 'revelations' in Parliament, and to secure some form of reinsurance against the day when the Government changes.

In general, it is to the advantage of both the lawyer and the Sarakatsan family head to make their association a personal relationship with diffuse mutual obligations. The lawyer becomes obliged to act as a general protector of the shepherd in all his affairs, the shepherd as a good client must show esteem and respect and give his patron the political support on which his power depends. It is not unusual for lawyers to become the godparents of their clients' children. Clients, whether or not they possess ties of spiritual kinship, cultivate the goodwill of their lawyer by periodic gifts of cheese and butter, and sometimes at Easter a lamb is presented. The nearer the relation between a Sarakatsanos and his lawyer approaches that of a patron and client friendship the more nominal the professional charges of the lawyer for legal services become. But in the nature of things it is easier for the leader of a substantial co-operating 'company' to establish an enduring friendship with his lawyer and to persuade him to win important concessions. He has more followers and more votes to offer. The lawyer does not lose prestige by attending to the affairs of simple men. This is his professional duty, and the more clients who throng his office and call out greetings to him as he walks along the street, the more political power he has, the more friends amongst the body of the provincial *élite*, and the more social prestige.

It would be tedious to present in detail examples of the many successful interventions by lawyer patrons. An over-zealous policeman in one village who made a speciality of arresting Sarakatsani for alleged disturbances of the peace was removed by the influence of a lawyer patron to a post in Mitylene. Another instance is the abbreviation of the military service of Christos Balatsos, an only son, whose family was handicapped

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by poverty and a father disabled by pleurisy. In this case the lawyer was a friend of the chairman of the appeal committee.

In the many court cases in which Sarakatsani figure the lawyers play a more strictly professional role. But there may still be scope on occasion for informal action, especially in civil suits which are heard before the bench without a jury. In a case concerning a disputed right of protected lease which threatened a Sarakatsanos with the loss of his winter pasture, the man in desperation asked his lawyer to approach the judge with a gift of £25. The lawyer took the money and the case was won. Without exception, villagers and shepherds assumed that at least half this money found its way into the judge's pocket. Villagers and shepherds have a simple faith that anybody, if he is approached in the right way and with the right sum, may be bought. In fact, there is no evidence that judges may be bribed. It may happen rarely. It probably happens more often that a lawyer friend is able to mention in conversation to a judge some aspect of a case which comes before him. And it certainly happens frequently that Sarakatsani put money into the hands of their lawyers which they believe will be used to bribe a judge or a senior government official, but which remains, in fact, in the lawyer's pocket.

Yet there is no doubt about the genuine assistance the lawyer gives to the shepherd in his critical fight to retain his rights of winter grazing. For instance, in the example already mentioned in chapter four, a considerable 'company' of families that winter their sheep in Thesprotia were able to counter the refusal of the villagers to rent them grazing land by presenting their case, through the influence of two powerful lawyer patrons, directly to the Governor General of the Epirus. The lawyers pleaded that humanly and politically it was impossible to allow eighty men, women, and children, and two thousand sheep, to walk the roads. As individuals moving in the same social *élite*, they were able to present an argument immediately suggesting that the Governor General's reputation for honour, and his political interests, were in danger.

The Member of Parliament for a provincial district plays in Athens a role very similar to that of the lawyer in the provincial centre. More members of the Greek Parliament belong to the legal profession than to any other. It is partly by possessing

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G 646 666 many clients, and many friends with clients, that a man is successful in national elections.

G 646 662 Since decisions of importance are rarely made by junior officials it frequently happens that a man must take action in Athens if he is to find a favourable solution to his problems. The friend or client of a Member may ask him to use his influence in the office of the Ministry which is handling his case. When the Member visits his constituency his political friends and clients of all social standings come to wait on him in his office, or to drink with him in the coffee-shops. On these occasions he carries a notebook in which he writes down the details of the favours he is asked to arrange.

S G 648 571 554 S 662 G 647 We see that the Sarakatsanos in facing the hierarchy of Government confronts persons of higher social status who share with him no bond of kinship or community. As a rule only nationality and common humanity link them together. In Greek society this is not an adequate basis for the acceptance of social obligations other than the common duty to defend the nation against its external enemies. The indifference or hostility of very junior officials may be bought off. It is a simple *ad hoc* commercial transaction between persons almost entirely isolated from one another in terms of social relations or morality. But the indifference of senior officials cannot be directly countered with bribes, nor is it easy because of the social distance which separates them for a shepherd to approach successfully a senior official. These circumstances are also related to the public arrangement of business by senior Government servants and the need to assert their status and maintain their prestige before their colleagues and immediate subordinates.

S G 648 571 G 647 693 The system of lawyer patronage, which is an extension of the more strictly legal practice of the lawyer, makes it possible for the affairs of villagers and shepherds to receive attention at that level of the administrative hierarchy where decision and execution are possible. A shepherd and a senior official are not directly linked to each other by social obligation or morality. A Government servant sees no reason why he should assist some illiterate shepherd and many reasons why he should not, such as loss of prestige before his professional colleagues. But the lawyer, as the intermediary who stands between them, is related by obligations of patronage to the first, and the duties of

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As I have already said, from his side a Government official sees no reason why he should assist some illiterate shepherd or villager and many reasons why he should not, such as loss of prestige before his professional colleagues. Like the villager or shepherd he has the same primary and categorical obligation towards his own family and its status. He also owes a loyalty to his service and his colleagues; but this is shown by marking the distance between those who rule and those who are ruled, by the display of arrogance, not service.

There are other, less personal, reasons for the distrust between the bureaucrat and the villager or shepherd. One half of Greece is a society of small village communities dependent on agriculture or pastoralism. To administer and physically control these many discrete communities, and the small towns which serve them, the central Government in Athens has erected a complex and costly bureaucratic organization which links, in the formal sense, the simple village community to the central body which governs and legislates for the nation. This is not a structure which has developed even in part from the villages themselves; it is an organization which has been imposed from above by the Government. Moreover, Greece is not, by European standards, a rich country. For the greater part of her national history taxation has been almost wholly absorbed in paying for the luxury of maintaining the panoply of a modern state with its full quota of Ministries and portfolios and in supporting substantial armed forces. Under these conditions, the State (τὸ κράτος) and its agencies must always appear to the villager or shepherd as a body from which he is excluded, something threatening and hostile, which takes away from the family and returns nothing. It stands, therefore, in opposition to the nation (τὸ ἔθνος), the community of Hellenism for which every Greek feels a deep and natural devotion.

Each family in a village, or in a shepherd community, therefore attempts to establish an exclusive and particular relationship with persons in power. As we have seen, decision or initiative is seldom possible at the lower levels of the Government service because of the reluctance of an official to delegate power. To reach that level at which his affairs can be effectively dealt with, he tries to discover a patron, generally a lawyer, who in return for a man's political allegiance, places his case before

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a friend in the right place. The lawyer, or other patron, bridges the gulf of hostility and indifference created by the absence of relationship and the difference in status. And he introduces some flexibility into the rigid and uncomprehending administration of village life by a centralized bureaucracy.

In effect, patronage converts impersonal and ephemeral connexions into permanent and personal relationships; for in Greek society it is, generally, only in established personal relationships, of which the archetypal forms are found in the family, that any considerable element of moral obligation exists. The initial motive is utilitarian, protection and assistance on the side of the client, political power and social prestige on the part of the patron. But when such a relationship endures for any length of time it takes on a strong moral quality. The patron feels obliged to assist and take a general interest in all the client's affairs, and in doing so he is able both to sense his superiority and approve his own compassionate generosity. The client is conscious of a duty to support his patron politically without undue concern about his protector's party allegiance, and to give free expression to his feelings of gratitude and indebtedness.

The role of patron is to give benefits; that of the client is to honour the patron by accepting dependence. In a society where the concept of honour is intimately connected with notions of individual strength and prepotence, to abdicate one's independence, even to a person of power who is not a member of the community, is an act of renunciation of some significance. The patron in accepting the dependence of his client, who thus admits, implicitly, the inferiority of his status, himself recognizes moral obligations towards the client. The dependence of the client draws attention to the power of his patron, while the protection of the patron suggests that the client is a man of some standing and respectability in his own community. The first consideration protects the patron from the accusation of weakness or foolishness which he would otherwise face if he casually assisted a man of lower status with whom he had no particular relations of kinship, friendship, or patronage: the second represents for the client honourable grounds for the admission of an inferior status which in other circumstances would betray the honour of his community and his own manliness. The social reputations of the two men are now linked. If a patron cannot

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in the role of friend or patron, not as President and leader of the village. And in personal affairs a villager or shepherd may often go directly to his patron[1] in the town. The importance of this is that the community is integrated piecemeal with the wider society along lines of personal obligation and not through membership of a large corporate group capable of attempting an infinitely stronger resistance to the authority of the State.

More generally, patronage links persons of different social status introducing into their social relations a common area of shared values which would otherwise not exist. In the context of the Zagori village it links the shepherds to the more important villagers, enabling the former to come to terms with the villagers' hostile attitude and the latter to mobilize the voting power of the shepherds in their own support. Since different shepherd families support different village personalities, it ensures that the latter continue to hold office and power even in villages where shepherds considerably outnumber villagers on the electoral roll.

Similarly, the patron-client relation between the lawyer and the villager or shepherd relates members of local village and shepherd communities to the professional classes in the small towns and larger provincial centres. It gives political power and prestige to the patron. It brings prestige to the client also but above all it means that he is never entirely helpless in the face of the impersonal indifference of Government action which threatens the precarious balance of his economy. Patronage relations produce a certain equity in the distribution of facilities and privileges and place some check on the victimizing of individuals. It achieves this by relating the universal franchise to the personal, social, and political aspirations of individuals competing for power and honour; or to put it more briefly, by relating natural rights to personal prestige.

Finally, the bond of debt and the qualified patronage of the merchant and the town shopkeeper brings the shepherd into a permanent association with some of the leaders of town

[1] In the case of a villager the 'protector' is very often a kinsman. See Ernestine Friedl, 'The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. lxi, pp. 30–38.

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APPENDIX III

A SPECIMEN FAMILY BUDGET 1954-5

This extended family possessed 350 sheep, of which 190 were ewes in milk. They also had 5 horses but no goats. There were 14 members, 7 adults and 7 children.

In these accounts quantities are in okes (1 oke = 1,280 grams) and values are in Drachmas (83 Drachmas to one pound sterling approx.).

Expenditure	*Drachmas*
Winter grazing dues at flat rate of 14 Dr. per sheep, 28 Dr. per horse or mule, on village common land. The stani of which this family is a member grazed the land by virtue of a compulsory Government order which also fixed the amount of payment	5,040
Owing to the small area and poor quality of this winter grazing the ewes carrying lambs were given supplementary feed in the form of cotton-cake. 17 okes of cotton-cake per ewe, at 3 Dr. the oke	9,690
Summer grazing in mountain village with citizens' rights of pasturage at the rate of 8 Dr. for the first 150 animals, and 14 Dr. for the remainder	4,140
Salt for sheep in summer	400
Flour 1300 okes at 4 Dr.	5,200
150 okes of olive oil at 17 Dr.	2,550
15 pairs of shoes at 150 Dr. a pair	2,250
Account with local tailor for the cutting and sewing of 6 jackets, 10 pairs of trousers and various other clothes for children and young girls	1,500
Share of general expenses of the stani* at 14·54 Dr. per sheep, 29 Dr. per horse	5,234
Miscellaneous purchases from village shop	3,066
Total	39,070

* This item represented the expenditure incurred by the stani in co-operative undertakings. In this instance more than half the amount was used for gifts and bribes, the remainder representing the cost of lawyers fees, fines for animal trespass, and the travelling expenses of the tselingas. The share paid by each member family is in proportion to the size of its flock.